Mormonism—Increase of the Army.

SPEECH

OF

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Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Chairman, in the pauses of the storm which the discussion of the Lecompton constitution has raised, and will raise, if ever presented here, into fiercer convulsions, and until which time I shall defer what I may have to say on that topic, I will avail myself of a temporary lull to bring to the consideration of the committee a subject which has not yet been discussed, but to which our attention will probably be directed, even before the affairs of Kansas shall be brought up for action.

For the first time since the organization of this Government, we are called upon to authorize the increase of the Army, ostensibly for the purpose of being employed against the people of one of our Territories. Under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, article four, section three, new States may be admitted; and Congress has power "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." By virtue of this provision, Congress has, from time to time, out of territory acquired by the General Government from the original States, or by cession or purchase from foreign Powers, organized territorial governments, which, after due political tutelage, have applied for admission as States, and been received, to take the rank and privileges belonging to the original thirteen States of the Union. Year after year has the tide of emigration from Europe and the eastern States surged on, and on, tracking the path of the retreating savage; plowing up the pasturage of the wild buffalo; felling the forests; harnessing the waterfall to the wheels of mechanical and manufacturing industry; gemming the landscape with towns, villages, and cities—the abodes of peace, prosperity and refinement. Thus has the forest belt that lay around the original thirteen States been broken; the wigwam has disappeared; and double the number of coequal sovereignties now dwell in fraternal concord beneath the wide dome of the Republic! What was known as the Far West in the days of our boyhood, is now the Far East; and the representatives of millions of men stand beside us on this floor, whose tasteful dwellings have been reared where, within half a century, the war dance of the Indian was celebrated, or the panther of the wilderness made his lair. The valley of the Mississippi has become dotted with the homes of empire, fronting on that Father of Waters—to them as an inland sea and an outlet to the ocean. The trapper retreats to the head-waters of the Missouri, and gathers his spoil from the streams that thread the slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Up to their wooded bases surge the tides of advancing civilization; and beyond and over them breaks the wave, foaming on to the shores of the Pacific. Across vast plains—twelve hundred miles from the Missouri, sentineled by mountain ramparts;—the dry bed of a vast inland sea, with its salt waters sunken to an inconsiderable lake, whose margin sparkles with its twelve crystals, and four thousand two hundred feet above the sea level—lies the central Territory of the Republic—Utah! Ten years ago—a single decade—and not a dwelling dotted that valley; across it wound the rugged road of the trader, the bridle or war path of the Shoshonee and his savage allies or foes. Standing on an eminence of the Wahstach mountains, to the east, their glittering peaks lifting themselves eight thousand feet in the clear, silent air, and fringed far beneath by shaded masses of pine and fir and balsam, a pear receding ranges of hills and streams, sparkling like silver threads, and narrow gorges, looking like abysses in the distance; and westward the mountains become lower, and gradually melt away, until a valley, holding in its bosom this lake of salt, spreads out before it. All around on the slopes of the descending hills run even benches, formerly the water levels of the lake, and now used for cultivation or pasturage. At the foot of these rise the mud walls of a city, covering an area of six square miles, the abode of half the people of the Territory, which now holds more than sixty thousand souls! As by a common impulse, they have come together from all parts of the world—from Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Scotland, England, Australia, and the United States. They have become a nation in a day. They have trade, industry, manufacturing and mechanical skill; they have law, government, and a religion. They are a homogeneous people; act by common impulse upon definite and fixed

principles; and, after having applied as a Territory for an organic law in 1850, and been organized in pursuance of its provisions, received a Governor, judges, a marshal, and a district attorney, from Federal appointment; after sending their Delegate to sit in the councils of the nation, they have seen fit to repudiate the paternity and power of the General Government; to break up the Federal courts; to deny all political influence in their councils coming from or through the agency of Federal officers, and fall back upon a theocratic polity that impiously claims the immediate inspiration of the Most High as its source and authority, revealed through His servant and prophet, Brigham Young.

This leader, who rules this people with an unquestioned despotism, through a machinery I shall examine, after temporizing under Mr. Pierce as Governor and Indain agent, has at length grown desperate enough to declare openly his defiance of the General Government; and emboldened by distance and long success, gathered from the supineness of the executive power that had employment nearer home for all its energies, comes out by proclamation declaring military law, usurps all the functions of territorial government in his person, and is training and marshaling his battalions for resistance and encounter. Three thousand brave men—our brothers and our sons—have, in obedience to the executive mandate, crossed the plains and rest in their tents near the mountain passes that girdle that Territory. The wintry snows have not damped their ardor, or cooled their glowing courage; the howl of the savage, impelled to run off their horses and cattle by the stimulus of Mormon craft has not made them irresolute or despouding; the driving tempest and the icy hail rattle upon their canvas covering, but the camp is merry with glee and the martial airs of Columbia echo through the passes and linger on every lip.

Why they were ordered off at a season which compelled this inevitable exposure, contrary to all prudent foresight, and against the advice of wise and experienced councils, lest those who did it explain and justify to the people and the country, if they can. Whether the loud and deep murmurs that began to roll from all parts of the land towards the capitol, condemning the retention of five thousand troops in Kansas Territory, under the pretence of maintaining law and order, and compelling a free people to vote or refrain from voting under the rear of United States artillery, according to settled programme formed at Washington, had the effect of starting forward the enterprise too long delayed, it is impossible accurately to determine. Should the disasters which now threaten our brave men, and which were anticipated by the sagacious in consequence of their long and unnecessary detention and late march, eventually fall upon them; should not Providence defied, and the enemy tempted, be better than our fears or our deserts, they who were instrumental in this dreadful exposure will be held to a strict and exacting account. Men in the plentitude of power, and backed by a dominant party hurrying them on, may for a time defy public opinion; but its edicts are unsparing upon imbecility or crime, and its vengeance sure. Let them remember that! Yes, sir, let them remember it!

Such is the aspect of things at this hour. The General Government has superseded Young as territorial Governor. His successor (Cumming) has issued his proclamation, exhorting the people to lay down their arms and refrain from all disorderly and treasonable projects. The idle wind that sweeps these plains is not more idle and ineffective than these proclamations upon that people. Their imperial priest, despot, and dictator, from his dual throne, as potentate of the Saints and vicegerent of the Almighty, laughs them to scorn. Entrenched behind the material bulwarks of distance and the wall of rock which nature has provided; girded by sterile plains and verdureless hills, and guarded by a blind fanaticism that knows no law beyond his will, and will shed its last drop of blood at his behest, he has become foolhardy by impiety and the unquestioning devotion that encircles him. The wiley craft of the conspirator and the low cunning of the knave have given place to the grasping ambition of the chieftain and the hopeful enthusiasm of the traitor and the prince.

In his plotting brain the time has arrived to cast off the allegiance he swore to this Government, which he once needed to subdue or wheedle the savage, around whom he now believes he has thrown stronger toils. A sway of more than six years, as head of the State and of the Church—wielder at once of the sword of territorial sovereignity and the crozier of spiritual might—has compacted and cemented in his grasp a dominion he is impatient to extend, and will not surrender! Ten thousand swords will leap from their scabbards at his beck; thirty thousand hands of male and female alike, will toil incessantly to sustain his power, linked, as they believe it to be, with their best interests in time and their salvation forever.

What is this moral and political phenomenon that looms up so grandly, and has ripened so soon; defying the forces of the Republic, and attracting the attention of the civilized world.

The President says in his message:

"A territorial government was established for 'Utah by act of Congress, approved the 9th September, 1850, and the Constitution and laws of 'the United States were thereby extended over 'it 'so far as the same, or any provisions thereof, 'may be applicable.' This act provided for the 'appointment by the President, by and with the 'advice and consent of the Senate, of a Governor, 'who was to be *ex officio* superintendent of Indian 'affairs, a secretary, three judges of the supreme 'court, a marshal, and a district attorney. Subsequently acts provided for the appointment of the 'officers necessary to extend our land and our Indian system over the Territory. Brigham Young 'was appointed the first Governor, on the 20th 'September, 1850, and has held the office ever 'since. Whilst Governor Young has been both 'Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs 'throughout this period, he has been, at the same 'time, at the head of the Church called Latter Day 'Saints, and professed to govern its members and 'dispose of their property by direct inspiration and 'authority from the Almighty. His power has 'been, therefore, absolute over both Church and 'State.

"The people of Utah, almost exclusively, belong

'to this church, and believing with a fanatical spirit 'that he is Governor of the Territory by Divine 'appointment, they obey his commands as if they 'were direct revelations from Heaven. If, there- 'fore, he chooses that his government shall come 'into collision with the Government of the United 'States, the members of the Mormon church will 'yield implicit obedience to his will. Unfortunately, 'existing facts leave but little doubt that such is 'his determination. Without entering upon a 'minute history of occurrences, it is sufficient to 'say that all the officers of the United States, judi- 'cial and executive, with the single exception of 'two Indian agents, have found it necessary, for 'their own personal safety, to withdraw from the 'Territory, and there no longer remains any go- 'vernment in Utah but the despotism of Brigham 'Young. This being the condition of affairs in the 'Territory, I could not mistake the path of duty. 'As Chief Executive Magistrate, I was bound to 'restore the supremacy of the Constitution and 'laws within its limits. In order to effect this pur- 'pose, I appointed a new Governor and other 'Federal officers for Utah, and sent with them a 'military force for their protection, and to aid as a '*posse comitatus*, in case of need, in the execution 'of the laws.

"With the religious opinions of the Mormons, 'as long as they remained mere opinions, however 'deplorable in themselves and revolting to the 'moral and religious sentiments of all Christendom, 'I had no right to interfere. Actions alone, when 'in violation of the Constitution and laws of the 'United States, become the legitimate subject for 'the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. My in- 'structions to Governor Cumming have therefore 'been framed in strict accordance with these prin- 'ciples. After their date a hope was indulged that 'no necessity might exist for employing the mili- 'tary in restoring and maintaining the authority 'of the law; but this hope has now vanished. 'Governor Young has, by proclamation, declared 'his determination to maintain his power by force, 'and has already committed acts of hostility against 'the United States. Unless he should retrace his 'steps the Territory of Utah will be in a state of 'open rebellion. He has committed these acts of 'hostility notwithstanding Major Van Vliet, an 'officer of the Army, sent to Utah by the command- 'ing General to purchase provisions for the troops, 'had given him the strongest assurances of the 'peaceful intentions of the Government, and that 'the troops would only be employed as a *posse* '*comitatus* when called on by the civil authority to 'aid in the execution of the laws."

"There is reason to believe that Governor 'Young has long contemplated this result. He 'knows that the continuance of his despotic power 'depends upon the exclusion of all settlers from 'the Territory except those who will acknowledge 'his Divine mission, and implicitly obey his will; 'and that an enlightened public opinion there 'would soon prostrate institutions at war with the 'laws both of God and man. He has, therefore, 'for several years, in order to maintain his inde- 'pendence, been industrously employed in collect- 'ing and fabricating arms and munitions of war, 'and in disciplining the Mormons for military ser- 'vice. As superintendent of Indian affairs, he has 'had an opportunity of tampering with the Indian 'tribes, and exciting their hostile feelings against 'the United States. This, according to our infor- 'mation, he has accomplished in regard to some 'of these tribes, while others have remained true 'to their allegiance, and have communicated his 'intrigues to our Indian agents. He has laid in a 'store of provisions for three years, which, in case 'of necessity, as he informed Major Van Vliet, he 'will conceal, 'and then take to the mountains, 'and bid defiance to all the powers of the Govern- 'ment.'

"A great part of this may be idle boasting; but 'yet no wise Government will lightly estimate the 'efforts which may be inspired by such frenzied 'fanaticism as exists among the Mormons in Utah. 'This is the first rebellion which has existed in our 'Territories; and humanity itself requires that we 'should put it down in such a manner that it shall 'be the last. To trifle with it would be to encourage 'it and to render it formidable. We ought to go 'there with such an imposing force as to convince 'these deluded people that resistance would be in 'vain, and thus spare the effusion of blood. We 'can in this manner best convince them that we 'are their friends, not their enemies. In order to 'accomplish this object it will be necessary, ac- 'cording to the estimate of the War Department, 'to raise four additional regiments; and this I ear- 'nestly recommend to Congress. At the present 'moment of depression in the revenues of the 'country I am sorry to be obliged to recommend 'such a measure; but I feel confident of the sup- 'port of Congress, cost what it may, in suppress- 'ing the insurrection, and in restoring and main- 'taining the sovereignty o the Constitution and 'laws over the Territory of Utah."

Mormonism as a religious system had its origin in a romance, written about the year 1810, by Solomon Spalding, a native of Connecticut, who had been educated for the ministry, but followed a mercantile employment, removed to Cherry Valley, New York, where he amused his leisure hours by weaving into a book entitled by him the "MSS. Found," the notion entertained or suggested by some writers that the American Indians are the descendants of the lost ten tribes of Israel. Hence, he starts them from Palestine, invents for them various fortunes by flood and field, wars, quarrels, turmoils, strifes, separations, until they people this continent, and leave behind them the vestiges of mounds, tumuli, fortifications, sculpture, and cities dilapidated, which are discovered in Northern and Central America. It is written somewhat in Scripture style, and uses the machinery of the Jewish economy throughout. He read his manuscript to various persons who yet remember it, but was not successful in procuring its publication. Somewhere about the year 1823, this manuscript fell into the hands of Jo Smith, a native of Windsor county, Vermont. Smith was about twenty years of age, and already exhibited that singular compound of genius and folly, of cunning and absurdity, of indolence and energy, of craft and earnestness, which distinguished him to the end of his career.

Under the new-light preachers of that day Smith became imbued with all the wild and extravagant notions of seeing sights; hearing voices; receiving revelations; meeting and fighting the devil in bodily form; which indicate a diseased imagina-

tion, and want of all solid instruction and fixed principles on religious subjects. Enthusiasm ran mad through the whole region where he dwelt, and Smith was one of its most brilliant exemplifications; ultimately having a revelation that all existing systems of religion were wrong, and that he should be made the prophet of a new faith For more than five years he vibrated between his caution and his enthusiasm; giving out, occasionally, dark hints about certain mysterious plates to be dug up by him, containing a new revelation. Part of his time was spent in lying, swindling, and debauchery, and the remainder in visions and repentance; the vulgar habits of the brute contending with the higher functions of the prophet. At length he pretended to dig out the plates from the side of a hill, in Palmyra, Wayne county, New York; placed himself behind a curtain, permitting no one to enter, from which *sanctum* he translated from the plates the book of Mormon to an amanuensis, reading it all from Spalding's manuscript in his possession, one hundred and eighteen pages of it having been stolen by Martin Harris. With this new Koran our modern Mohammed started upon his career.

On the 5th of May, 1829, John the Baptist came back to earth to baptize Smith; and on the 6th of April, 1830, the first church of Latter-Day Saints was organized at Manchester, New York, consisting of four Smiths and two converts out of the family—Pratt, Rigdon, Kimball, and Young, joining afterwards. This Bible, unlike that of the Christian or Musselman, purports to be chiefly historical, and does not enunciate or enforce a system of moral and religious truth in a philosophic or didactic form; all its incidental lessons upon life or manners being derived from current doctrines of this day. It is consequently incapable of comparison with any other extant form of religious faith. One might as well compare the Christian religion with Fenelon's Telemachus, or one of Jame's novels.

"If it be true that the author of the Koran stole 'his materials, yet must a man had greatness and 'elevation of soul to have stolen as he has done. 'If on the rich fields of sacred literature he plun-'dered, he plundered like a prince! The spoil 'which he gathered so largely from the Jewish and 'Christian Scriptures, might be likened to that 'with which certain learned and munificent con-'querors have graced their triumphs. They have 'indeed trampled upon and overthrown the ancient 'seat of arts and learning; but yet have first 'snatched from the devastations of war, each sig-'nal monument of greatness and beauty."

And out of these monuments he constructed an edifice, if of grotesque, yet gorgeous proportions, and blazing with the decorations of oriental splendor; but the materials of the Mormon book, though mostly derived from the same source, are so crazily jumbled together, so inartificially constructed, that if a whirlwind had scattered the leaves of the sacred record, and combined them again with the feats of Baron Munchausen by machinery, it could not have surpassed this production of inanity and folly.

Two things may be remarked upon this Koran of Mormonism. 1st. It does not sanction the central principle of the new faith as now practiced—polygamy: this was the growth of after years. 2d. It does not purport to be a full and complete revelation; indeed, it discloses that twenty-one plates and stones are still buried and undiscovered in the hill "Comorah," in the State of New York. But neither the plates dug up, nor those still unknown prevented Smith from having direct visions and revelations from the Most High; and it is by this instrumentality primarily, and not by any potency in the doctrines embodied among the contemptible literature of the Mormon Bible, that the system has grown into its present magnitude. A very similar organization existed a short time before at Sing Sing, in the State of New York, headed by Matthias Folger, and others, which soon ripened and died out with a disclosure of the vices and selfishness of its founders. There is nothing whatever in the distinctive doctrines or truths of Mormonism which would tend to give it perpetuity. These elements lie in its polity, which was not at first a matured system, but grew up gradually, as circumstances gave it development:

First. An eldership of two and two was organized to preach the new system, consisting principally of violent harangues against all existing forms of religious faith.

Second. An apostleship of twelve, after the model of the early Christian church, with plenary power over inferior orders.

Third. A commission of seventy, now very much enlarged, to go through the world and propagate the new faith.

Fourth. A location for the "new Zion," where, without disturbance from Gentile powers, it could carry out and display its inherent strength, and evince its glory on a scale proportioned to the greatness of its origin and the divine superintendence it commanded.

Fifth. A perpetual and infallible inspiration, through the high priest designated by Heaven, according to whose revelations all the personal, social, domestic, economic, political, military, and religious concerns of the church are to be regulated, in the minutest matter, without hesitation, question, or appeal.

There was an attempt, by Smith, to introduce communism while the Saints were located at Jackson, in Missouri, in 1832; but the principle of *meum* and *tuum* was yet too strong for the immature fanaticism of the early disciples, and the experiment has not been repeated.

This element of spiritual despotism pervades all the several orders, and runs through the entire line of this singular affiliation. It grasps and encompasses every interest, the vast and the minute, public as well as private. No circle is too sacred for its prying censorship and approach! Its thousand eyes gaze upon all the promptings of ambition, all the workings of its industry, all its complainings, discontents, hopes, affections. Through mysterious and hidden conduit pipes flow to the ear of this dictator the secrets of every domicil, the throbbings of every soul; and back, like a thunderclap, comes a revelation that goes crashing on its remorseless way, through heart and home of the disciple, who takes up his staff and flies to fulfill its stern decrees. It is a despotism which combines all the traditional force of Mohammedan absolutism with the shifting policy of Jesuit craft—dominant at once over State and Church, intolerant, exclusive, and fanatical. If "the priest of

superstition rides an ass, and the priest of fanaticism a tiger," here is a double proof and representation of the fact.

Every convert is a zealot; every zealot a hero! To believe in these ravings and inspirations, reason and history, science and the world's progress, all the morals of Christianity and all the precious boons of civilization are first ignored and repudiated; a blind, bigoted, unreasoning, mindless faith supplants and swallows everyth ng beside itself; and having laid down its maj stic independence and its manhood, and accepted the fetters of a slave, the wilder the rant the sooner it obtains credence. We have deemed, in our complacency, that no wide-spread delusion could roll its turbid waters over the surface of social life in these ends of the nineteenth century; but we wake up to this phenomenon growing under our eyes and at our hearthstones, that involves the reign and rage of certain principles of human nature we had hoped were long ago discarded; that comes raving for its victims in the circle of our religious and political institutions, and by the fascinations of its egregious and impudent imposture, its intemperance, its folly, its blasphemous atrocity, carries them forth to exhibit to our baffled hopes and sickened sensibilities a spectacle of credulity and virulence, such as we had hoped history recorded only for warning, and not imitation!

It discards the fanaticism of the scourge; as penances and personal inflictions are not within its policy, except so far as direct and practical devotion to the interests of the "Saints" demand individual sacrifices. It passes by the fanaticism of the brand; its lust is not that of cruelty, and its jaws do not yet reek in blood. Its common hatred has not yet risen to an immortal abhorrence, nor its wrath swelled to execration. Fear and policy, and no inherent virtue of the system, have restrained this manifestation of its nature; for if all external pressure was removed, and the gleam of American bayonets did not glitter before the Mormon eye, it would persecute instead of curse, and exterminate Gentile contumacy where it had failed to convert. But it grasps with a lusty arm the fanaticism of the banner!

Clad in the sacerdotal ropes of the priest, over which are drawn the vestments of the soldier, this u scrupulous and traitorous warrior-ecclesiastic rings out the blended war-cry of the chieftain with the imperial edict of the Pope! From the sacred seclusion of the cloister, he emerges with mailed glove and plumed helmet. The will of the Almighty comes from his mouth, and His direst wrath foams on his hissing lip. "To your tents, O Israel! defiance is safety! to crouch is to die! strike at once for your homes, your altars, your wifes, and your little ones!!" This appeal finds an echo in every heart. He covers his designs under the pretext of a religious persecution. Gog and Magog are coming up against the Saints! Patriotism, national pride, calculations of policy, motives of ambition, resentment at foreign interference, the revenge of detected hypocrisy, all mingle in profound excitement, to give it the character of a religious war!

But let me not blend the elements of its polity with the web of its historical development. One or two points more of the former, and I will then turn to the latter—its practical workings being only the outgrowth of its inner spirit. It is unlike either that *fanaticism* of the Papacy, that swept Europe of its brave chivalry, in the crusades, and poured its best blood on the Syrian sands, to redeem and sanctify the cradle of its faith, or that fanaticism of Mohammedanism, which leaped into the saddle, and flashing its cimetar in the sun bade the nations bow to the crescent; its battle cry being: "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet!" Each of these was invasive, aggressive, and acted independently of the political structures existing among the people they inflamed, and with which they did not meddle; but this is defensive, secluded, intense, because driven in upon itself. It blends in one the polity of State and Church, in imitation of the Hebrew thocracy, and spends its missionary zeal in proclaiming through every clime that God has come down to men; that a millennium on earth has opened; that within its peaceful walls care and sorrow and pain are no more; that a brotherhood of love and concord is established, where, surrounded by all that can gratify the taste and please the senses, the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. This earnest, enthusiastic proclamation and promise is one of the grand agencies of its success—the secret of its marvelous enlargement.

What wonder that the down-trodden, famishing masses from Wales, Scotland, Sweden, Germany, France, and all parts of the other world, without education, without moral instruction, are caught by the picture, and start in troops for this earthly Paradise? What marvel that eager crowds begrimed with the soot of the dark mine, or pale from the faintness of the heated factory—what marvel that the victims of an ecclesiastical system, that is known only by its oppressions; and taxes and tithes, while it fails to bless or enlighten—what marvel that they crowd round the earnest man in the thronged marts of the continent, or on the corners of the rural hamlets of England, and drink in his words, blazing with his own enthusiasm, as he paints the earthly glories of the God-defended Eden of the West, which sparkles to the eye of faith in the distance, the embodiment of all excellence that the imagination ever painted? And then comes in the aid of "organized emigration;" in vast communities, with the order and precision of an army, they set their faces resolutely for their new home; and along every avenue, from the Atlantic and Pacific alike, in winter and in summer, toil on with a dogged energy, that in itself is morally sublime. Sixty thousand souls at least own the sway of this occidental hierarchy. Men and women of low intelligence, burning zeal, simple habits; but guided and governed in all their affairs by this inspired priesthood—a priesthood constituted mainly of the Yankee element, as to nationality—an element, in this case, of canting, calculating hypocrisy, which first inquires whether it will pay; and, secondly, whether it promises power; and, thirdly, whether it imposes any limitation upon license and lust; and having satisfactorily settled these profound questions of the pocket and the flesh, with the cool devilitry of an ordinary speculation, places itself in the priesthood council and eldership; leers about from its high seat in the sanctuary for beautiful inmates of its harem, and stimulates its palled appetites by new victims, as often as exhausted passion loaths the worn and wasted forms that cease

to amuse or please, where the heart is never touched, and woman is so degraded and defiled.

Sir, are the leaders—the master-minds of this fanaticism sincere? Smith was more hypocrite than enthusiast. His whole story of the origin of his bible was a lie; and, knowing that, he could not be sincere.

Nor do I entertain a higher respect for Young, or Kimball, or Pratt, or the other leading spirits who sustain them. Power and polgamy hold them there, and not a man of American birth and education would remain any longer than he could help it, if permanently deprived of both of these luxuries.

I need not argue before a Christian people this question of polgamy. If all the Abrahams and Solomons of the Old Tes'ament practiced it, it is no less devilish and damnable. As long as the Almighty preserves by births and deaths the average equality of the sexes, what right has one man to thirty wives, any more than one woman to thirty husbands? thus defrauding twenty-nine in the social body of their rights. As long as the human heart demands and responds to a congenial and equal sympathy in the opposite sex; as long as man is capable of honor, or woman of love, so long will this licentious system which degrades her into a plaything of idle dalliance, or a breeding animal for children—every element of self-respect, every ray of sentiment, every upspringing impulse of her bleeding and bursting heart crushed out of her; her sense of equality, her queenly pride as wife and mother, her sacred place at the board and the hearthstone, gone, lost, sunken, in the shameless contentment of herding in droves like swine, beneath the roof of a creature who regards her as at once menial, mistress, and slave; so long will nature protest, with all the force of its outraged sensibilities, against this horrid desecration.

To *argue* such a question is to insult the mother that bore us, despise the home of our boyhood, and the virtues that refine and exalt the society in which we live. In a word, when we reflect that the primitive institution of marriage limited it to one man and one woman; that this institution was adhered to by Noah and his sons, amidst the degeneracy of the age in which they lived, and in spite of the examples of polgamy which the accursed race of Cain had introduced—when we consider how very few, comparatively speaking, the examples of this practice were among the faithful—how much it brought its own punishment with it, and how dubious and equivocal those passages are in which it appears to have the sanction of the Divine approbation; when, to these reflections we add another, respecting the limited views and temporary nature of the more ancient dispensations and institutions of religion—how often the imperfections, and even vices, of the patriarchs and people of God, in old times, are recorded, without the express notification of their criminality—how much is said to be *commanded*, which our reverence for the holiness of God and his law will only suffer us to suppose were, for wise ends, *permitted*—how frequently the messengers of God adapted themselves to the genius of the people to whom they were sent, and the circumstances of the times in which they lived—above all, when we consider the purity, equity, and benevolence of the Christian law; the explicit declarations of our Lord and his apostle, St. Paul, respecting the institution of marriage, its design and limitation—when we reflect, too, on the testimony of the most ancient Fathers, who could not possibly be ignorant of the general and common practice of the Apostolic Church—and, finally, when to these considerations we add those which are founded on justice to the female sex, and all the regulations of domestic economy and national policy—we must wholly condemn the revival of polgamy.

Sir, the common law, as well as the law of nature, deems it a great crime. The municipal law of every State in Christendom has made it a felony; and the wretch who, in the immunity of territorial distance and ecclesiastical protection, will practice it, is worthy of the felon's character, and should receive the felon's doom.

And then this *sealing process*—a mystery of abominations that no devil not first brutalized could have invented. As a consequence of its polygamous intercourse, divorces are granted freely at the parties's option, and woman goes through the process of legal transference from one master to another, as the authorities may determine, many marrying five or six times, and their husbands all living—the whole invention being hardly a vail for promiscious intercourse.

The history of this fanaticism is soon told. The church was organized in 1830. In August, 1831, they commenced a settlement at Independence, Jackson county, Missouri—revealed to Smith as the site of the "New Jerusalem." Smith wavered long between this place and Kirtland, Ohio, where, in 1833, they commenced building their first temple, which was finished in 1836, at a cost of about fifty thousand dollars. In 1839, they relaid the foundations of their temple in Missouri. They left this region again for Nauvoo, in Illinois, where another temple was soon erected. Jo Smith's life and labors ended together in Carthage jail, where, on the 27th of June, 1844, he was shot by a gang of border ruffians.

And here endeth the first lesson, in the decease of the first saint of Mormonism by martyrdom. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church;" and it proved true of this, not less than of other causes. From a plotter, trickster, and buffoon, Smith ascended the ladder, and in the apotheosis became a saint and protecting divinity. Faith could now see in him qualities which sight would have contradicted.

And while the heaving mass was surging to and fro, and looking for direction, Brigham Young steps forward upon the scene. With consummate tact and a master hand he seized upon the reins of authority. This modern Elisha drew upon his shoulders the falling mantle of his master, and with a will that never wavers, and an eloquence of action and tongue that masters, subdues, and overwhelms, he sways the mass before him as with the stroke of an enchanter's wand.

Illinois spews them out; Missouri rejects them. Smith had aspired to the presidency, and the Saints wielded a banded political influence on which no party could count, and which could at any time turn the scale in a contest between them. Dissensions grew up, blood was shed in bitter broils; and as the land become too straight and their numbers increased, in 1845 they turned their eyes westward—to Vancouver's Island, to Texas,

to California, and finally to a valley in the Rocky Mountains. In 1848, as the young grass was peering from the sod and the buds were bursting into flowers, in the month of May, the exodus commenced. Pioneers having gone before, across the Mississippi they pass, and away over prairie and plain, men and women, flocks and herds—the heavy wain drawn by the lowing cattle—the patient tramp of feet, great and small—filing along the long line of fifteen hundred miles to a land naked as it came from the hand of its Maker; it was the heroism of faith! How sad that it had no worthier end!

From that day Young has reigned supreme, and thousands and tens of thousands have flocked to his standard. The unsettled religious sentiment of the lower grades of mind gravitate there. It is the Botany Bay of the world! There it stands rampant and defying. Its hand on its sword-hilt and its eye flashing fire; a Territory and not a Territory!—a Republic in embryo!—a despotism consummate, wearing the show of popular approval and bending willingly to the nod of a tyrant. There it stands—it is before you in your path to the Pacific—it will not away at your bidding; a huge, ugly, stubborn fact, which no ignorance can disregard and no political fatuity despise.

What will you do with it? Will you turn despot and saber sixty thousand souls because they believe in Brigham Young and polygamy? Will you meet the fanaticism of folly and fraud by the fanaticism of extermination? Will you make the city a desert and the region a howling wilderness on the one hand; or, will you suffer this moral cancer, inflaming political treason, to grow on untouched until it becomes too vast to handle? Will you permit an independent and defiant despotism, organized in the very heart of this continent, and embracing the vilest and most intractable elements of which a community can be composed, to compact and strengthen its defences, to train its battallions, to call home its forces, and light a fire at your threshold which all the forces of the Republic cannot subdue?

What will you do with Utah? Will you retrace your steps, and in defiance of the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska act, legislate polygamy out of the Territory, and so declare, and not leave them free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way? Will you repeal the territorial act which they have practically nullified; annex it to adjoining States or Territories, and let them deal with this sin to the family, and this treason to the State? What will you do? As an individual, I will say what I would do: There is no way of avoiding peril; but in the face of ten thousand Kansas-Nebraska acts, and all the false principles they embody, I would pass a law making polygamy a crime in the Territories, and then send a force sufficient to scatter every harem to the four winds. If it be objected that an *ex post facto* law cannot reach past evils, this may be true; yet the offence has been committed in defiance of the common law and moral sentiment of the civilized world, and should receive no favor. In any event, such a law would stay the tide, and the sore would slough off in one generation.

Secondly. I would send an army there sufficient to apprehend Young and all his co-conspirators against the authority of the General Government —who will be found to include every lord of the seraglio—try them for treason, and hang every one, without distinction, who should be found guilty; excluding every Mormon from any participation in the legal processes of the court.

Thirdly. I would secure to the inhabitants a republican form of government, and see that they enjoyed their freedom without the heel of a despot, spiritual or temporal, on their necks; and I would wait patiently to see the results; and if all thus failed, I would turn that city into a camp—a vast military depot, to guard and protect the highway to the Pacific.

There is but one question more. When and how shall it be done?

When? I answer now, without delay. This religious fanaticism has now assumed the form of a civil polity, and this civil polity is anti-republican and despotic; and this despotism has committed overt treason against the Government of the United States. The authority of every Federal officer is denied, or a reign of terror instituted over all their acts. War is proclaimed in fact. Forces are levied and trained for action. Slaughter is threatened. Our troops are defied, our courts closed, our officers insulted; the savages incited to plunder and ravage. Peaceful citizens, with their wives and little ones pursuing the path of emigration, are surprised and murdered in scores, with not a straggler left to tell the tale, their mangled corpses, or white skeletons, bleaching in the sun, disclosing the horrid tragedy. If anything is to be done not a moment should be lost. Every day strengthens its forces and compacts its power. Its agencies are hurrying home as fast as steam and money can speed them.

I know some think we should let them alone, and that the system must soon fall to pieces. But how long has Mohammedanism lasted! How much less reliable is the fanaticism of to-day than that of ten centuries ago. What element of this structure gives signs of impotence or decay? What limb of this hale giant is already smitten with moral paralysis, and gives tokens that its energies are spent, or even wearied? Sir, we have let them alone; and from a contemptible handful, they have grown into a nation! The citizens of Illinois and Missouri could eject them without aid; but now they stand behind a wall of ten thousand bayonets, and dare you to the encounter. The unorganized fanaticism of the world gravitates to Utah, and there it is molded into armies. Eight-tenths at least of these elements are foreign, uneducated by and unaccustomed to our institutions, with no love for democracy, and no reverence for national law; restless masses, impatient of restraint, and fraternizing only on the lust of license and the hope of power.

If it might not be deemed too fanciful, I would suggest a historical parallel in that of the fanatical Jew who rebelled against the Roman *power*, and brought Titus Vespasian to raze his city and temple, and level with the dust every vestige of his power, and every monument of his ancestral glory—a rebellion in which the fanaticism of the religious and military sentiments were equally brought into combination. Sir, this is not a religious war; a persecution for conscience sake, any more than was that. As well may the Thugs of India protest their religious principles in justi-

fication of assassination! Suppose the devotees in Utah adopt treason as an item of their religious creed; will such a baptism give them immunity for conscience sake? By no means.

But gentlemen fear the great cost of this war! They look round upon an empty Treasury and an accumulating debt; upon $6,000,000 unpaid for the Oregon war; upon unknown sums for the California campaign, to be ascertained and adjusted! They look upon commerce prostrate, manufacturing industry paralyzed, and the avenues of business closed by symptoms of derangement and distrust; our sources of national income diminished by decreasing imports, and by limited sales of the public lands. They see a system of wasteful expenditure organized in every governmental department; they discover that $100 000,000 per annum will be needed to keep us from bankruptcy; and they are appalled at the prospect of running the State into financial ruin, by an expensive intestine war!

I ad nit the truthfulness of the picture, in all its aggravations. But some matters are above money; there are crises in the life of a nation, when, whatever her financial burdens, she must incur heavier; when her integrity and honor, her prestige, her existence, are all at stake; when to calculate is folly, to hesitate is to perish. Did General Washington hesitate and temporize and count the cost, when a part of Pennsylvania rebelled on the whisky tax? No, sir; he sent fifteen thousand men into the field, and this promptitude, energy, manliness, itself quelled the storm, without shedding a drop of blood? The Saints of Utah may be as wise as the whisky dealers of the land of Penn, if they find the Government are equally in earnest. If they choose to risk a battle, I trust it will be such a battle as has not been seen on this continent—overwhelming, decisive, complete; such as our brave Army will fight, even if fanaticism provokes to feats of superhuman valor.

Let those who must bear the responsibility of the war determine mainly how it shall be waged, and what shall be the amount and character of its appointments—whether the additional force shall be that of volunteers, to which opinion I incline, or an increase of the regular Army—whether it shall approach from the east or the west—whether it shall employ horse or foot. But let them not have to say to the nation that a formidable rebellion has ripened, and is rioting unchecked among us, and we refuse the agencies to counteract or destroy it. I hope this may not become a party question—a shuttlecock for political partisanship to hurl to and fro. Let us deal with it as if we felt a common danger, and were only anxious to cope with and overthrow it. While I leave myself free to vote as I shall deem best upon all details, I stand committed, for one, to give my voice and vote to stay the march of this prairie fire; to fight it out at once, before it involves our homes and ourselves in the ruin of its spreading conflagration.

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